The worldview of Alianza's constituency—impoverished, dispossessed small landowners—could be very conservative. They were not radical in the sense of consciously seeking to restructure the entire society as opposed to achieving justice in one area, recovery of land ownership that the United States had promised to respect under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. At the same time, their goal could hardly be met without that restructuring, any more than the U.S. government was likely to "give it back to the Indians." For some *Alianzistas* and supporters, who saw that their poverty could not be ended without systemic change, their worldview could certainly be called revolutionary nationalism.

The anticommunist influence of McCarthyism could be found among a few *Alianzistas*, who equated the word with dictatorship. However, Tijerina himself did not take virulent anticommunist positions. His conservatism in other areas was notable, for example, having an almost entirely male Alianza leadership and expressing male supremacist attitudes. (On the unofficial level, many Alianza women were respected for their wisdom, strength, and leadership in ways similar to what I had found in rural Mississippi in 1964.)

The overall attitude in northern New Mexico toward socialism or communism was not negative. One or two Alianza supporters whom I met had even tried to get to Cuba and join the revolutionary forces there in the late 1950s. A sprinkling of old left members could be found like Vicente Vigil, who became a columnist for the newspaper *El Grito del Norte* (Cry of the North). Organizers in the land grant and other movements received frequent support from a small but sturdy number of Anglo socialists and Communist Party(CP) members or sympathizers in New Mexico.

We can also recall the 1951 Silver City strike against Empire Zinc, inspired by proletarian goals with help from committed CP organizers, and made into the movie *Salt of the Earth*. Years later some of the strike leaders did support work for the Chilean resistance after the 1973 coup, which reflected an ongoing radical tradition.

The paper never abandoned its focus on the land struggle in New Mexico, and linked it with contemporary land struggles in Hawaii, Japan, and third world countries, thus internationalizing it. This combination of what could be called liberatory or revolutionary nationalism with internationalism made *El Grito* very unusual among the dozens of more nationalist Chicano movement newspapers that covered the Southwest and inspired activists.

El Grito's favorable coverage of Vietnam, Cuba, and China left no doubt that it was prosocialist. It sent reporters to all those countries. We also sent a reporter and photographer, along with a carload of supporters, to Wounded Knee during the long, armed American Indian Movement occupation in 1973. All this did not seem to limit the paper's popularity, at least not in the north. Probably we were helped by the fact that the 1967 Tierra Amarilla courthouse raiders were our friends and one, Jose Madril, an editor with El Grito. Nobody messed with those guys!

We did encounter some harassment from the police in Española, where our office was located, for example when they detained Antonio Cordova who had photographed them tear-gassing people at a demonstration.

With a predominantly female set of regular columnists, writers, artists, photographers, and production workers like Jane Lougee, Tessa Martinez, Adelita Medina, Kathy Montague, Sandra Solis, Rini Templeton, Valentina Valdes, and Enriqueta Vasquez, together with myself as managing editor, the paper made its feminism clear. This continued a cultural tradition in which numerous Mexican women journalists played a major role during national struggles like the 1910 revolution.

El Grito also sought to encourage and train young Chicanas in putting out a paper. One of the main successes here was a series on Vietnam written by grassroots organizer Valentina Valdes, who had to read a book on Vietnam the first time with a dictionary—and then read it again—for background. Another example: Adelita Medina and Sandra Solís started the publication Tierra Y Libertad, in Las Vegas, New Mexico, after having been trained at El Grito.

In Albuquerque, the Black Berets also followed an internationalist approach. They adopted principles and a program sometimes modeled on the Black Panthers, for example, its breakfast program, that made it less strictly nationalist than Brown Beret groups in Texas and California. The Black Berets also founded the Bobby Garcia Memorial Clinic, committed to the idea that health is a human right, not a privilege. Their main leader, Richard Moore, and others went to Cuba on the Venceremos Brigade.

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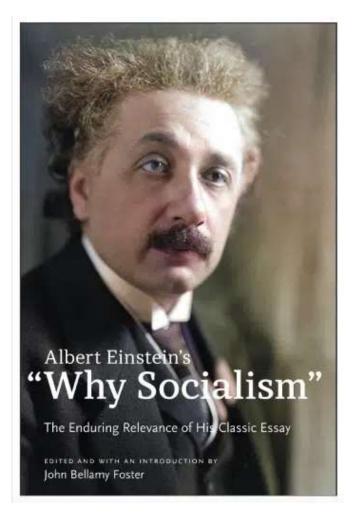
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